

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

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SUBJECT: GOR NATIONALIST THEMES RE-EMERGE

1. SUMMARY: GOR IN RECENT DAYS HAS GIVEN MORE THAN USUAL
EMPHASIS TO EXPLICITLY NATIONALIST THEMES. CEAUSESCU'S
MARCH 28 SPEECH ON IDEOLOGY CONTAINED INDIRECT COMMENTARY ON
LOST PROVINCE OF BESSARABIA. SCINTEIA GAVE WHAT IS BELIEVED TO
BE FIRST MASS-CIRCULATION ATTENTION TO 1877 RUSSIAN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
OF ROMANIAN NATIONAL COMMAND OVER TROOPS FIGHTING TURKS,
AN AESOPIAN REFERENCE RECALLING PRESENT-DAY SOVIET PRESSURES
FOR WARSAW PACT SOUTHERN-FRONT INTEGRATION. MEDIA HAS BEGUN
TO TREAT MAY 9 DATE AS NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE DAY WITH SUBSIDIARY
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VE-DAY COMPONENT CENTERING ON ROMANIAN NATIONAL CONTRIBUTION

TO ALLIED VICTORY. BALANCING PUBLIC DEFERENCE TO SOVIET WWII
ROLE MAY EMERGE IN COURSE OF OBSERVANCES OF SPRING ANNIVERSARIES,
BUT MAIN FOCUS SO FAR IS ROMANIAN IDEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
INDEPENDENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. CEAUSESCU'S SPEECH ON IDEOLOGICAL MATTERS ON 30TH ANNIVERSARY
OF STEFAN GHEORGHIU ACADEMY (HIGHER PARTY CADRE TRAINING) WAS
INTERESTING CORRECTIVE TO ANY TACTICAL TILT TOWARD MOSCOW THAT
MIGHT HAVE BEEN OBSERVABLE SINCE NOVEMBER CONGRESS. HE LABELED
AS "COSMOPOLITANISM" ATTEMPTS TO NEGATE OR UNDERVALUE NATION OR
TO EQUATE NATIONALISM WITH ANTI-COMMUNISM AND REAFFIRMED
PERSISTENCE OF NATION'S IMPORTANT ROLE FOR "LONG TIME" AFTER
STAGE OF FULL COMMUNISM ACHIEVED (SOVIETS HERE HEARTILY DISAGREE).
HE MADE MOST BITING (ALBEIT INDIRECT) REFERENCE IN SOME TIME
TO SOVIET ABSORPTION OF BESSARABIA IN HITTING "DENATURED,
FALSIFIED INTERPRETATIONS OF HISTORICAL REALITIES" BY WHICH
"DISMEMBERMENT OF STATES" AND "ARBITRARY EVASION OF A
PEOPLE" ARE PRESENTED AS "HISTORICAL NECESSITY" AND "PROGRESSIVE"
OR "LIBERATING", AND "ARTIFICIAL SITUATION" IS MADE OUT TO BE
"FORMATION OF A DISTINCT NATION".

3. CEAUSESCU DEFENDED ROMANIA'S "CREATIVE APPLICATION" OF
MARXISM-LENINISM AND MOCKED "SOME COMRADES" WHO TURNED TO WORKS
OR MARX, ENGELS, IYENIN AND "EVEN STALIN" TO FIND SOLUTIONS TO
PRACTICAL LOCAL PROBLEMS WHICH LATTER AUTHORITIES HAD NEVER EVEN
CONCEIVED OF. THESE "COMRADES" ADOPTED POLICIES DAMAGING TO
ROMANIA. APPARENTLY HIGHLIGHTING ANOTHER DIFFERENCE WITH MOSCOW,
CEAUSESCU STRESSED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE AGAINST
"REACTIONARY AND ANTI-COMMUNIST CONCEPTS" SHOULD NOT OPPOSE MANY
"PROGRESSIVE OR DEMOCRATIC CONCEPTS" EVEN IF THEY "CRITICIZE US"
TO A DEGREE, AND SHOULD TOLERATE A "DIVERSITY OF WAYS TO SOCIALISM"
AND "A MANIFESTATION OF DIFFERING OPINIONS."

4. AT HOME, HOWEVER, CEAUSESCU LEFT LITTLE ROOM FOR DIVERSITY,
UNDERLING THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S DIRECT ROLE IN MANAGING "FULL
UNITY" OR ROMANIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE AND DEMANDED A "SINGLE FORUM"
FOR TEACHING PHILOSOPHY, APPARENTLY TO FURTHER RESTRICT
REMNANTS OF DISSENT AND EXPERIMENTATION IN UNIVERSITIES.

5. LEAD EDITORIAL IN SCINTEIA MARCH 30, FOR FIRST TIME IN MASS
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MEDIA, QUOTES 1877 CONVENTION WHEREBY RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT "OBTAINED
RIGHT TO MOVE ITS ARMY INTO THE BALKANS" WHILE "RESPECTING THE
RIGHTS OF THE ROMANIAN STATE", AND ALSO THE APPEAL OF GRAND
DUKE NICOLAE TO ROMANIAN KING CAROL I TO JOIN BATTLE WITH TURKS
WHILE KEEPING ROMANIAN TROOPS UNDER NATIONAL COMMAND.
EDITORIAL CALLS FOR "RESPECT FOR FACTS AND REALITIES" IN HISTORY
AND LAUDS ROMANIAN RESISTANCE TO ATTEMPTS BY "GREAT NEIGHBORING
EMPIRES" TO "DISMEMBER" ROMANIAN NATION.

6. COMMENT: ROMANIANS, AMONG WORLD'S CANNIEST USERS OF HISTORY FOR CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL PURPOSES, HAVE BEGUN TO EXPLOIT 1877 MAY 9 ANNIVERSARY TO REINFORCE CURRENT POLITICAL ENDS. SEVERAL ROMANIAN HISTORIANS HAVE INDICATED PREPARATIONS FOR THE 1877 CENTENARY WILL INCLUDE SUCH POLITICAL ASPECTS AS

HISTORICAL REHABILITATION OF KING CAROL I AND DOCUMENTATION OF HISTORICAL ROMANIAN CLAIM TO ALL OF MOLDAVIA; FOR EXAMPLE, ARTICLE IN RECENT ISSUE OF MAGAZIN ISTORIC ARGUES MOLDAVIA WAS NEVER UNDER TURKISH SOVEREIGNTY, IMPLYING BESSARABIAN PROVINCES WERE NEVER TURKS' TO GIVE TO RUSSIANS (IN 1812). ANNOUNCEMENT APRIL 2 THAT 375TH ANNIVERSARY OF MICHAEL THE BRAVE'S SHORTLIVED UNIFICATION OF ROMANIAN PROVINCES WILL BE CELEBRATED IN MAY ADDS TO CONCLUSION THAT ROMANIAN CONCESSIONS, IF ANY, TO MOSCOW CURRENTLY ARE NOT PARTICULARLY EVIDENT IN IDEOLOGICAL SECTOR. FURTHER FACTOR IN STRESSING INTERNAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MAY 9 COULD BE ROMANIAN RESENTMENT THAT SOVIETS NOT PREPARED TO GIVE ROMANIA ITS DUE FOR CONTRIBUTION MADE DURING LAST MONTHS OF WWII. AMBASSADOR AND DATT WERE TOLD BY ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF COMAN APRIL 2, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT ROMANIANS RESENTED UNWILLINGNESS OF HUNGARIANS AND CZECHS AND "OTHERS" TO ACKNOWLEDGE LOSSES OF 150,000 ROMANIAN LIVES IN LIBERATION OF THESE TWO COUNTRIES.

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